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fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: (1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) following the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or anciently perhaps burned alive, (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of certain temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often consisted of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called *tufutalinafi*. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) describes others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabu, father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's *fahu*) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410) a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu*.

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micronesia and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

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mentions strangling as a form of suicide preceding the custom of disemboweling. Some wives of the Tui Kanokupolu were strangled at their lord's death (See p. 90.). Mariner relates how his patron Ulukalala II insisted that his daughter, a widow of the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava, be spared. It seems doubtful if the *moheofo,* or chief wife of the Tui Tonga, was strangled. Tupoumoheofo, widow of the Tui Tonga Pau, certainly was not strangled. The Female Tui Tonga was not strangled at the death of her brother the male Tui Tonga, because she was his superior in rank.

Cremation alive of commoners captured in war is attributed to an early Vahai chief of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and is said to have taken place before 1799. The victims were not eaten. The place where the cremation is reputed to have taken place is still called Umutangata (Oven-of-man).

The *fakafeao* was a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault with a deceased Tui Tonga, or some member of the Tui Tonga family. When one of the Tui Tonga family was buried, many presents were brought by all of the chiefs of Tonga. These were interred in the vault with his body. The matapule acting as undertaker (*haatufunga*) was the only living person permitted to enter the vault and come out of it alive. His duty was to place the gifts, as well as properly to dispose of the lowered body. The ranking chief presiding over the funeral affairs would direct his matapule to bring one or two men (commoners) to act as *fakafeao.* Such a man was forced to enter the vault and sit in a corner, and the stone cover was lowered into place and the grave mound erected over it. Or the cover might be suddenly lowered at the command of the presiding chief while the *haatufunga* was still within the vault arranging the gift materials, trapping him to serve the interred as *fakafeao.*

I have a note from the venerable Tamale concerning the painting of the *fakafeao's* head with turmeric, which gave rise to the descriptive designation of *uluvali* (painted head) for such doomed individuals. Tamale said that the victims were selected from the Tui Tonga's mother's family, in other words, from the standpoint of the Tui Tonga, from the inferior side of his family. This note may refer to the *fakafeao,* or to other individuals sacrificed at a Tui Tonga's burial besides those interred alive. The term *fakafeao* also applies to the bodies of matapule or other retainers buried at the time of natural death in the earth of the mound outside of the great stone vault.

Perhaps a rationalization is the statement that to have opened the vault once closed would have been to imperil the life of the new Tui Tonga, for the vault was opened only to receive the dead, and the opening up again would be to receive the body of the new Tui Tonga. Hence arises the saying, "Pulu hoo tuku" (Go easy with your letting down). The *haatufunga*

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would choose a friend of his own to superintend operations on the end of the rope by which the stone slab was lowered into place, and his saying to this friend, "Pulu hoo tuku kau moui," was a request to let down gently in order to give him a chance of life. The name of an undertaker Mailau is preserved as having been so shut in a vault. In the ceremonies following burial the matapule of the chief, either successor to the dead man, or the head of the family before, sat on the chief's right hand and the undertaker sat on his left. On this occasion, since Mailau was in the vault and unable to take his position and perform his duties on the left of the chief, someone went each morning and called to him the work that had been done, and enumerated the ovens of food that had been presented. For eight days the unfortunate man in the vault called out the appropriate thanks, but on the ninth morning there was no response from below, and presuming that Mailau was dead, the chief proceeded to the appointment of his successor.

Burial alive of a victim beneath a house post may have been an occasional practice in Tonga. One instance only came to light and that in connection with the erection of the Falemee, which was a temple, presumably to Hikuleo, on the island of Haano, Haapai. Dr. S. W. Baker in a lecture given on November 2, 1866, made the following statement about it:

> I have stood in the old Fale Mee at Haano, which is the last *fale otua* (temple of their god) still standing in Haapai. At the foot of the principal post there is buried a man, who was said to be the best singer in all Tonga. He was offered a living sacrifice to the god at the building of the temple, as an act of dedication.

The launching of great vessels over the bodies of commoners was asserted by the chief Ata in reply to a leading question. He said that he had heard such a tale from the chief Fulivai of Vavau. The information was volunteered by another informant that a chief once killed one or two men who were aiding in the launching of a great vessel, in order to stimulate the remaining men to greater effort. Takai, the one-eyed chief of Pea, Tongatabu, on one occasion killed the first man of a crew that was tugging half-heartedly on the ropes by which a great stone slab was being moved from the weather shore to Pea.

One informant told of the title Tupou Angataha which was an office dedicated to sacrifice:

> A Tupou Angataha had proven a traitor in war to the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga [probably before his appointment]. As a punishment Laufilitonga ordained that a Tupou Angataha should die every other day. The duty of selecting each new appointee was placed in the hands of Tupou Vakehekehe, a chief of the Haa Ngata. Each new Tupou Angataha was proclaimed by the matapule at the kava circle of Laufilitonga. The Tupou Angataha appointed one day was executed the next day by the club or the strangling cord. How many victims were thus appointed and executed was not known. The last appointee fled from Tongatabu to Haapai and not only escaped execution himself, but put an end to the series.

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A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster. 753 [164]

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned. [835]

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.) [837]

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.) [828]

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow. [825] [821]

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity. 753 776 787 [761]

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words. [755]

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man. 753 775

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following: 743 775

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death." [165]

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the casks in the hold; iron being a most valuable commodity to them. During these operations the ground tier of oil, the hoops being knocked off the casks, burst out, and suffocated eight of the natives. In consequence of this great discharge of oil, the water in the hold was covered with it, to the depth of two feet. Two men, who had struggled out of this body of water and oil, strongly expressed their amazement (as they afterwards explained themselves to Mr. Mariner, when he understood their language) at the difficulty they experienced in rising through the oil: they could swim in the water below easily enough, but as soon as they emerged from the water into the stratum of oil above, the less specific gravity of the latter rendered their ascent difficult. They comprehended the reason, however, very well, as soon as he had learned the language sufficiently to explain it to them. Three other men were at the same time severely wounded, by some butts bursting out on them while they were in the act of knocking off the hoops.

Finow, observing one of the natives busily employed in cutting out the iron fid from the main top-gallant-mast, and as he was a low fellow, whom he did not choose should take such a liberty, he was resolved to put a stop to his work; so speaking to a Sandwich islander, who

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175 They remained here about two years and a
721 half, towards the end of which period they were not contented with joining the wars of others, but entered into one of their own, for the greater acquirement of plunder: and their superior bra-
[484] very rendered them very successful. Tired at
[177] length with their long absence from home, they returned to Tonga; leaving their own canoes behind them, and coming away in the better
[165] formed ones of the Fiji islands. In their passage however they experienced a heavy gale, during which one of the canoes, with some of
175 the choicest men, was lost. On the arrival of
669 the remainder at the island of Tonga, they found the place in a state of insurrection; the cause and circumstances of which are as follow:

175 Long before the period of Tooi Hala-Fatai's
669 expedition, Toogoo Ahoo had succeeded to the
643 throne; but had held the reins of government not with the complete satisfaction of his people:
175 far from it. He is reported to have been a man
669 of a vindictive and cruel turn of mind, taking
643 every opportunity to exert his authority; and
644 frequently in a manner not only cruel, but wan-
304 ton: as an instance of which, he on one occasion gave orders (which were instantly obeyed,) that twelve of his cooks, who were always in waiting at his public ceremony of drinking cava, should undergo the amputation of their left

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669 712 The next morning, after the men had refreshed themselves, armed parties were sent out to cut reeds, for the purpose of building a fortress at Nëäfoo: Finow and his principal chiefs remained to lay out the plan, whilst others were employed in digging a ditch about fourteen feet wide and ten feet deep. The spot on which this fortress was planned out was so situated, that one side was close upon the sea-shore, on a steep rocky bank, and therefore required no further defence, for the enemy had no large canoes, having broken up all they had to make small ones, and with these it would be imprudent to venture as far as Neafoo, lest their retreat should be cut off by Finow's larger and swifter canoes. In the course of the day the 669 726 164 fencing and ditch were tolerably well completed, so that the following night the greater part of the army slept on shore; but they were 165 not without alarm, for about midnight, a small party of the enemy having come down to reconnoitre, looked through the openings of some part of the fencing that was not quite finished, and seeing several of the men sitting round a

[705 262] and turbot, and found the assertion perfectly correct: all the preparation necessary, is to take off the skin, and wash the fish with a little salt water; it will then taste as relishing as the oyster, and very similar to it. If we eat the oyster raw, why not other fish?

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fire conversing together, they threw several spears at them, which wounded many, and struck all with a panic: the whole garrison was instantly in a state of confusion; and a great number so far lost their presence of mind as to endeavour to make their escape on board the canoes; in this attempt, forgetting that it was low water, they leapt from off the banks, and fell upon the shelf of rocks below, in consequence of which several of them had broken arms and legs, and sundry contusions, which, together with the fright, producing universal spasm (tetanus*) in some of them, caused their death a day or two afterwards. In about a quarter of an hour the alarm perfectly subsided, and they passed the rest of the night quietly.

During the following day the fencing was completed, and a second ditch was planned round the former; this, however, was to be without any fencing, that the guns might be brought to bear more readily upon the enemy, in case they should make a descent upon Nëá-foo. This ditch was to be eighteen feet wide, and about ten deep. In three days it was dug, and the fortress completed. In the mean time the canoes were hauled up within the fencing, but no active operations were effected on either

* Their mode of treating this disease, and their success in sometimes curing it, will be related under its proper head.

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cocoa-nut trees in abundance; the soil is also highly favourable for the cultivation of yams, which grow there larger than in most other places. The water which terminates it at one end is noted for the vast abundance of a peculiar fish which resort to the shores of Vavaoo about the month of July. This fish they call *Ooloo Caoo*, and is about the size of the common sprat, and of much the same shape and hue. The common people consider it a great delicacy, but there is considerable danger of being poisoned by eating them promiscuously, for here and there is found one which, on eating, produces the most alarming and sometimes the most fatal effects*; and as there is no mark by which these poisonous ones may be known, it is always dangerous to eat of them, unless they be procured in the rocky bay of this plantation, where, they say, they never found any poisonous, and therefore partake of them without any reserve: the chiefs however seldom touch them, unless perhaps there is a scarcity of other fish. The time when they are best and in the greatest plenty is in the latter end of the

* The symptoms produced are headach, nausea, vomiting, and diarrhœa, with violent pains in the bowels, to which death generally succeeds in the course of four or five hours. The only remedy they use (which very seldom succeeds) is to cause the patient to drink abundantly of water, or, what is considered still better, the milk of young cocoa-nuts.

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islands, and the people are greater cannibals. At the Tonga islands in particular, it may be remarked, that the island of Tonga (properly so called) is constantly in a state of war, and scarcity consequently is much more common there than at Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and cannibalism, therefore, much less shuddered at. At the island of Tonga, indeed, this inhuman habit is by no means so general as at the Fiji islands, but then it has not been the scene of warfare for more than about twenty years, whereas the latter nation has been familiar, more or less, with this scourge of the human race, from time immemorial.

Now we are upon this subject, we may mention, that at Tonga, the atives report that some time before Mr. Mariner's arrival among them, an European ship touched there, the boat of which, on landing near Mafanga, had a quarrel with some of the natives, in consequence of which, three of her crew were killed and dragged up the country. These the natives embowelled and dressed the same as pork, and several ate heartily of them; but shortly afterwards they were all taken very ill, being attacked with nausea and vomiting to a violent degree, and three of them actually died. Some of the natives attributed this circumstance to an unwholesome quality in white man's flesh, others

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to the superior power of the gods of England, in the way of revenge for killing white men. They were strongly corroborated in their opinion of the superiority of the gods of England, by the circumstance that almost every man who had been actively concerned in the conspiracy against the Port au Prince happened either to be killed in battle or to die of disease, during the time Mr. Mariner remained at these islands; and they would often question him whether it were not owing to the interference of the English gods as a punishment; to which he always answered them in the affirmative, with a view to his own safety, and to inspire them with respect for the invisible powers, which, according to their notions, presided over the welfare of England and of Englishmen. Some of the natives, in joke, used to say, that they would kill Mr. Mariner, to see if the hotooas (gods) of England would revenge his death, alleging their disbelief in the unsolicited agency of the English hotooas, and their opinion rather that Mr. Mariner himself had been the cause of their death by his prayers, soliciting his gods to revenge the death of his countrymen. This, however, was a notion chiefly of the lower orders: the higher classes were of opinion, that the hotooas of England operated of their own accord, without any intervention or prayer.

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of the seven died. One of these cases was that of a man who performed the operation on himself: his left testicle was greatly enlarged, being about five or six inches in diameter, and gave him, at times, severe lancinating pains: two or three times he was about to have the operation performed by a native of Fiji, but his courage failed him when he came to the trial. One day when Mr. Mariner was with him, he suddenly determined to perform the operation on himself; and it was not much sooner said than done: he tied on the bandage, opened the scrotum with a very steady hand, in a fit of desperation divided the cord and cellular substance together, and fell senseless on the ground: the hæmorrhage was very profuse. Mr. Mariner called in some persons to his assistance, and he was carried into a house, but did not become sensible for nearly an hour, and was in a very weak state from loss of blood: this affair confined him to the house for two or three months. There was one rare instance of a man, both of whose testes were affected with some species of sarcoma, to a degree almost beyond credit: when he stood up, his feet were necessarily separated to the distance of three quarters of a yard, and the loaded scrotum, or rather the morbid mass, reached to within six inches of the ground:

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there was no appearance of a penis, the urine being discharged from a small orifice about the middle of the tumor, that is to say, about a foot and a half below the os pubis. The man's general health was not bad; and he could even walk by the help of a stick, without having any sling or support for his burthen: it was specifically lighter than fresh water, and considerably lighter than salt water, so as to produce much inconvenience to him when he bathed. He died at the island of Foa, about two or three months before Mr. Mariner left Vavaoo.

As to fractures, and dislocations of the extremities, it may be said that there is scarcely any native but what understands how to manage at least those that are most likely to happen; for they are very well acquainted with the general forms of the bones, and articulations of the extremities. They use splints made of a certain part of the cocoa-nut tree: for broken arms they use slings of gnatoo. In fractures of the cranium they allow nature to take her course without interfering, and it is truly astonishing what injuries of this kind they will bear without fatal consequences: there was one man whose skull had been so beaten in, in two or three places, by the blows of a club, that his head had an odd mis-shapen appearance, and yet this man had very good health, except

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months, and sometimes a couple of years. From the symptoms thus far described, there is not much doubt about its resemblance to what is called the *yaws;* the remedies they use for it are a certain bitter juice dropped into the ulcers, and rubbing off the fungous excrescences with cocoa-nut husk dipped in sea-water. They are subject also to a pustulous eruption, chiefly confined to the feet, but which sometimes affects the hands: it usually appears between the toes, and has in its external character a strong resemblance to psora, and itches very much: it appears in the form of small pustules with whitish heads, which, when rubbed off, generally discharge a watery fluid: it is supposed to arise from walking in clayey places without the opportunity of washing the feet afterwards: it is not thought to be contagious: it usually lasts about four or five days. The name they give it is *gnówooa.* They use no remedy.

They are also subject to a disease called *fooa:* but if we describe the symptoms of elephantiasis, we shall have related with tolerable accuracy the history of this disorder. Labillardiere notices the disease, and calls it elephantiasis. They use no remedy for it.

The disease called *momóco,* a sort of Marasmus, usually lasts from four to seven months:

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in the latter stages it somewhat resembles phthisis. It comes on with occasional chilliness, loss of appetite, lowness of spirits, wasting of the flesh: shortly succeed swellings in the groin and axillæ; general debility, paleness of the lips. As the disease advances the patient stoops very much; experiences pain in the chest, and across the shoulders: sometimes, but not often, a cough, and expectoration now supervene, the debility and emaciation become extreme, and death relieves the patient from his sufferings: these are all the symptoms which Mr. Mariner can speak of with certainty. They use no physical remedies.

*Féke-feke* appears to be a sort of mild irregular intermittent: the paroxysm usually lasts from two to eight hours, and consists of a cold and a hot stage; but is seldom succeeded by perspiration. The returns of the paroxysm are very uncertain; sometimes two, at other times three, four, five or more days intervene. The patient is sometimes perfectly well for a month, and then his disorder returns.

In regard to diseases properly belonging to females, Mr. Mariner has very little to communicate. The women are in general tolerably healthy: during the catamenia, they anoint themselves all over with a mixture of oil and turmeric, to avoid catching cold; and they do

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9



12. "My" (possibly "our") is not the composer personally, but the Hihifo party.

13. The details of the *lafo* metaphor are susceptible of more than one explanation. It may be that the troubles and difficulties of the time are not swept off the board by a throw which attempted to effect such a clearance. An excellent informant says that the picture is of two opposing pieces, both in good positions; the piece which is actually in the scoring position is struck off by its owner, in an attempt to strike off the opponent's piece. This might refer to a favorable position in the war being lost by some untoward incident. Such an incident, for example, as the death in battle of Mulikihaamea, shortly after the murder of Tukuaho.

14. The counsel is not to talk of peace, but to go right on through difficulty; the "will to victory."

15. "Disunion among chiefs who should be allies makes sailing difficult for the Hihifo bark of state." In the main the war was fought by Haapai and Vavau, led by Ulukalala Finau, against Tongatabu, especially Hihifo. Even before the assassination of Tukuaho, the two hulls had been loosened by the dissension between Tupou Moheofo, the chieftainess who was Tui Kanokupolu for a short time and her brother, Tukuaho, who drove her from her position. Tupou Moheofo appealed to Finau for assistance. Finau himself belonged to a younger branch of the Haa Ngata, against the chiefs of which he fought. Tupou Toa, who afterwards became Tui Kanokupolu, also acted with Finau.

16. The Tui Haakili is unidentified but is apparently some chief who might have been expected to support Hihifo, but did not. He rejoiced with Finau in the defeat of Hihifo, which had become desolate. Apart from the defeat of Hihifo at the Battle of Toafa, which was held to have been avenged by Vahai in the Battle of Chasing Fowls, the western district of Tongatabu was desolated for years by the raiding excursions of Finau.

17. There was an epidemic about this time that carried off a large number of people.

18. Ula was chief fisherman and sailor (*toutai*) of the Tui Kanokupolu.

19. This is suggested as a sarcastic reference to those who stayed at home, and did not join in the war, which would seem to be the case with Mataele, but I think the general sense is a recalling of the entourage of the Tui Kanokupolu, especially with the nuance of an implicit contrast of their inherent glory and the straits into which they fell. Longoiaipangi is the name taken by Vahai as self-inflicted reproach after the Battle of Toafa.

20. Kepa is another name of Falekaono, who kept faithfully by Tukuaho on the night of his assassination. Here, Heilalafuitahi (name of a plant) is a nickname of Tukuaho.

21. Sinae, the Tui Tonga chiefs; Atelevai, said to be the chiefs of Haa Havea.

22. The *matapule* of the Tui Tonga were called the Falefa. Falefa is sometimes explained as meaning Four Houses, and four names are mentioned as belonging to it; but it is quite possible that the meaning is the House of Hala as a complimentary naming by a tree valued for its perfume or as indicating far-spreading.

23. Evidently Hihifo.

24. The reference is to Haapai and Vavau, who come over the sea.

25. The *pekipaki* is a little marine creature, popularly called the bluebottle.

26. Totomai is explained as the name of a man or as meaning "creeping back defeated."

27. "The pig that drinks water" is Finau and his army. Finau used to retire to Haapai and Vavau after his battles in Tongatabu. He is called pig perhaps in reference to his having installed a pig as king of Tongatabu. "Drinks water," that is "comes and goes on the sea."

28. Perhaps the reference is to Haapai. It would not be true of Haapai, but would be merely a rather childish grimace at Finau. Perhaps the place meant is Hihifo, in sorrowful allusion to the depredations of war.

29. The word *aheia* is said to indicate a change of topic.

30. Red (*melo*) is rather, orange colored. It is not clear what is indicated. Probably the bard recalls to mind the ruddy or orange tinge of the sails in a certain light.

31. The exact meaning of this passage is not clear, but there seems to be a reference to a success of Hihifo, when the tide of war turned in his favor. Pelehake

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Vavau
Pangai



goods (used for making the *vala*, dresses, etc.), shirts and vests are vitally important in order to conserve what might be called a decency-status in village life.[16] Soap and blue are similarly necessary to keep both clothing and the person reasonably clean. Tobacco for the villager is more than a luxury, specially when alcoholic liquor is practically unobtainable. Reels of cotton, though costing relatively little, play a vital part in clothes-repairing. Lastly, teething-powders, which account for almost one quarter of the expenditure on the items with which it is grouped in the table above (one per cent. also out of total store expenditures), perform the incredibly useful function of keeping teething infants from wailing wretchedly day and night and thus preserve a sufficient measure of quiet for adults to sleep. (Expert medical opinion in Tonga suggests that the frequent use of these teething-powders, which generally contain a large measure of powerful drugs, is one not unimportant contributory factor in a high infant mortality among the villagers. But it is hard to convince a Tongan of this fact; all the more so in that adults, children, and infants all share the same floor at night and the frustrations imposed upon one who would sleep by the wailing of a toothache-racked child can always be relieved by administering teething powders to the infant.)

The percentage-distribution of sales as set forth in this table refers only to one of the two stores in the village. There is no reason to think that the general percentages and proportions would be materially altered were it also possible to include sales from the second store in the village and also sales made to villagers from the several stores in nearby Neiafu.

Although some few men in the village obviously have a greater yearly income of money than the majority, there are as yet few signs of any tendency to reckon social prestige in terms of wealth-accumulation. The village overseer, the

[16] By Tongan law, rigidly enforced, men and women (both Tongan and white) must cover with clothing upper and lower parts of the body. Considerable ingenuity is exercised by those pleading before Tongan courts in order to determine what constitutes for men an upper garment that infringes neither law nor decency. Apparently a necklace does not constitute an upper garment but a shirt collar with hardly more than a tatter of shirt hanging precariously to the collar, is considered to be well within the law!

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats. The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grandmother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child should have life again. After each call she bends over the child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt. He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the evening and all night long, members of the church, of the family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother. There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*-circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that the mother's mother's house was too small for all the mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



643 trade was at a standstill. The people went to their plantations only to dig up and carry away food for the great funeral feasts. Their only labour was the erection of the great tomb in the Malaekula (Red square). Contrary to general expectation, the king's great-grandson, George Taufaahau, succeeded him without disturbance. This was in a great measure due to the loyalty and good sense of Tukuaho, who might easily, had he pleased, have divided the country into factions. The young king of twenty ill repaid this devotion. For the first few months, it is true, he followed his Premier's advice. But no sooner did he begin to feel secure in his new position than he began to listen to advisers of another kind. The balance in the treasury had melted away in the expenses of the funeral. Under the most favourable circumstances, the country could only recover under careful management. But before the people could return to work, an epidemic of measles, then prevalent in New Zealand, broke out in Nukualofa. We all know the story of the measles in Fiji,—how, in 1876, it swept away 40,000 out of the population of 150,000. Measles, when it attacks the Polynesians, is no longer the infantine malady we know of. It becomes a devastating plague. The Tongans, with the experience of Fiji in their memories, took, it is true, some precautions against the after-effects of the disease; but, nevertheless, one-twentieth of the population was carried off, and the remainder was so demoralised that it was threatened with famine. The measles gave the enemies of the Government the opportunity they wanted. The infection must have been brought by a steamer, and the Premier had been responsible for the granting of pratique. It mattered not that the king had himself sanctioned the hauling down of the yellow flag. An excuse was wanted for dismissing him, and the king availed himself of it. There was a *coup-d'état*. One morning the European officers of Customs found sentries at their office doors. Tukuaho was summarily dismissed without any assigned reason, Sateki appointed in his place, and an unemployed schoolmaster and a

643 643 764 643 [645] [764] 731 [164] [165] 669 669 645 563 439 651

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

# THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL.

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It was the census year, and the law provided that the Minister of Police should be responsible for numbering the people. His arrangements were somewhat primitive, but I daresay that they produced more satisfactory results than would the more elaborate machinery of our Registrar-General if put into the hands of such workmen. Kubu simply ordered his policemen to visit every village and write down the names of the inhabitants. In a country where every individual is personally known if not related to the enumerator, not many omissions are likely to have been made. The total census of the natives was 19,196.

The registers of the births and deaths for the previous ten years showed the population to be steadily decreasing, not so much on account of excessive mortality as of a low birth-rate. The death-rate (36 per mille), however, was high when compared with European countries; and it would be strange if it were not so, when it is remembered that the arrival of Europeans has introduced the germs of many diseases from which the natives were formerly free, and to which they are therefore not yet inured. Chiefly de-

659 [625] 161 [163] 161 165 000
[p. 371]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



164 Chiefly de-
structive among these are dysentery and whooping-cough, both of them unknown to the Tongans before the advent of European ships. But apart from bacilli of actual foreign diseases, there is now no doubt that the different races of men are themselves uncongenial, and that their first meeting generates a mysterious poison fatal to the weaker race. In the Pacific, Tahiti, Niue (Savage Island), and Penrhyn Island in particular were swept by a destructive epidemic immediately after the visit of the first European ship, though the visitors were not themselves suffering from any such ailment at the time. Such disasters have led the natives of some of the islands to adopt a murderous system of quarantine, and the loss of many lives has been the result. Tonga, however, seems to have been spared this penalty that attaches to the "blessings of civilisation," unless the tradition of an epidemic following Tasman's visit has been lost. The first sickness preserved by tradition is the *ngangau* (lit. headache), a new disease that ravaged the group about the year 1776, but which was not associated in the natives' minds with the visit of [165] Captain Cook three years before. Of this many hundreds are said to have perished.

161 I do not believe that the population of Tonga ever
[361] greatly exceeded 20,000. It is true that the natives have traditions of a time when the king's orders could be shouted from house to house as the people lay on their mats; but I think that this refers to the time when each family lived in its own plantation instead of in villages,—a state of things that was observed by Tasman in 1643. Cook estimated the people present at the entertainment given to him at Maofanga in June 1777 at 10,000, the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



present population of Tongatabu. Since that time the population has been either stationary or decreasing—slightly under normal circumstances, rapidly in time of epidemic. In 1893 the measles and the diseases consequent upon it carried off one-twentieth of the people. In the absence of such severe visitations whooping-cough is the most destructive of the introduced diseases. The mothers lack the knowledge and the self-devotion required to successfully nurse their children through such illnesses, and content themselves with calling in one native quack after another to dose the unfortunate child with a succession of nostrums until death puts an end to its sufferings.

For the low birth-rate there are several reasons. In ancient times the women were required to do no work beyond the light occupations of fishing and cloth-beating. The men planted the food, carried in the wood and water, and did the cooking. The missionaries have so industriously cultivated the idea of family life that in most Tongan households the women, after marriage, do the same work as the wives of the peasantry in Europe. In other respects they have greater liberty than under the heathen system. Formerly a girl's hair was cropped short at about twenty, and she was thenceforward classed as an old woman (*fefine motua*). No woman of mature age could then masquerade in the guise of a young girl, and there was no inducement to defer marriage and the cares of maternity; for the woman who aspired to be younger than her years had no peace from the sneers of her contemporaries. This is all changed. Under the grim social code of the missionaries, by a mockery of fate, a laxer

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9



Church with most of her relations; and poor blind Tungi, her kinsman, had so far conquered his aversion to Mr. Baker as to permit services to be held in his premises. Mr. Baker had been careful not to define his exact position to the Tongans. All that a stole and surplus could do towards making him an ordained clergyman had been done. He did not bother the Tongans with any nonsense about Church government; the one thing he did understand was making a collection, and he held his first while I was at Nukualofa. Something under three hundred adherents subscribed nearly £200. I asked Ofa who kept the money. Had they churchwardens?

"Churchwardens," she said, "what are they?"

I explained. No, they had no churchwardens.

"Then who keeps the money?"

"Misa Beika."

It was melancholy to see how cruelly Fortune had used Tungi, whom I had left the most influential chief in Tonga. While his son Tukuaho was still alive his sight had begun to fail, and he had made the voyage to Samoa to consult a German oculist, who pronounced his case to be beyond hope. Hardly had night closed in upon him when Tukuaho, his only son and the most popular chief in Tonga, died suddenly of heart

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9



disease while riding with the king. Then came the jilting of Ofa, his near kinswoman, an insult to his family which must have hit him hard. He had retired to his little house in Nukualofa and was living quietly on the rents of the adjoining property, which he had enjoyed undisputed for many years, when the government suddenly put in a claim to it and dispossessed him, reducing him to poverty. I do not know the rights of the matter; I only know that the man who, failing royal issue, stood next to the throne, who was the most courtly and imposing of the chiefs of the old time, the last repository of ancient lore and tradition, was reduced to living in a hovel in which you would not stable a horse, blind, deserted, and in utter penury. A few weeks after our departure the last link with the past was severed by his death.

Beyond the birth of a princess three weeks before our arrival nothing had occurred to change the position. The king was in voluntary confinement in his compound, estranged from his chiefs, and consorting with three of his ministers, his kinsmen, and his guardboys, who tumbled into uniform only when a foreign ship was in port. The government of the country was nominally in the hands of old Sateki, my old

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9



643 to be flaws in his nature which prevent him from becoming a strong or popular ruler, he is by no means wanting in character. He has never been tempted by strong liquors, like so many of the Polynesian chiefs; his private life is regular; he has always known how to hold himself aloof from the lower sort of European; and I do not doubt that the insincerity of which he is so generally accused is really due to the desire of pleasing and the dislike of refusing a request. His health is not all that could be desired. Remembering the early death of all his family, until he alone was left to succeed his great-grandfather, we could not regard his stoutness, which had been characteristic of all of them, as a healthy sign, especially when we heard that he only took exercise in the palace compound at the direct order of his doctor. His mother and his uncles had all died of fatty degeneration of the heart when under forty, and none were so stout as he at twenty-seven.

643 165

644 A foreign language is apt to rust on the tongue after disuse for ten years, and my speech, presenting my credentials and the Queen's presents, ran less trippingly than I could have wished. But words came back to me as I talked, and, having plenty of time before me, I left politics

644 648

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9



god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele.

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ne-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings. These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice. The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui (The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god.

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat.

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic influenza.

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
OU9 Tonga OU9



plunge into the other place. Tongans are of course unaware of the amiable company that Mr. Bernard Shaw assures us is there. 775

The solicitations of dead friends does not at all exhaust the possibilities of ghostly interference with the health of the living. Almost any sickness may as well be due to ghosts as to anything else. A girl who lives with a European family in a place where there is a good deal of bush about, happened to cough in the presence of a wise old lady, and was submitted to the following diagnostic examination. "Do you cough much?" "Yes, I cough a good deal." "Do you sleep by yourself?" "Yes, I have a room to myself." "In the dark?" "Yes." "Ah, that is it. In the bush, by yourself, in the dark. Ghosts. Now what you must do is to put a tent of native-cloth round your bed, and sleep inside that with a lighted lamp." 775 753

Writers have commented on the simplicity of ghosts, and indeed they seem pretty easy to deceive. A precaution that is not without tender pathos is sometimes taken with women who die in childbirth, or whilst they have a child at the breast. A *tappa* mallet is laid on the dead woman's arm, so that she may suppose that her babe is with her, and so rest peacefully and not go and take her child away. But in spite of all precautions a ghost sometimes breaks through our guards. A man goes to sleep in apparently robust health, and in the morning is found dead. A ghost has come in the night and throttled him, and witnesses are not wanting to testify to marks on his throat. Such a death would perhaps be attributed to conduct which had offended the ghosts. 775 [764] 775 761

In earlier days it was extremely common to sacrifice a joint of the little finger on behalf of a sick friend, and in the case of a high chief who was seriously ill a human victim might be offered. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl on behalf of the chief Finau, and I have myself spoken to a man whose mother was an eye-witness of the sacrifice of a man to secure the recovery of a sick chief. In both cases the victim was strangled, and in both cases, too, the patient dishonoured the remedy by dying. 782 165 755

Besides the wide and indefinite number of sicknesses attributable to the misguided affection or malevolence of spirits, a very large range of disorders is classified as *fasi*, a breaking. There seems to be an analogy with the known phenomena of broken bones and strained muscles. The sprains which are amenable to the excellent massage are called twisted sinew, but these supposed breakings are most varied in character, and as indefinite as the illnesses resulting from the pranks of ghosts. The aches caused by lung troubles are supposed to be caused by some sort of internal rupture, and treated accordingly; both internal and externally. As as cure for an aching back massaging is likely to prove effective, even if the decoctions of 752 753

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9



132 temperatures 5° to 10° lower, and rainfalls 25 per cent to 50 per cent smaller. Except in the Niuas, hurricanes are rare.

## Earlier Social Conditions

175 Accounts of the social condition of Tonga as they found it have been given by various European explorers, and particularly by Cook. He describes a rather idyllic land, fertile, well-cultivated and well-roaded, inhabited by an intelligent and friendly people, skilled in husbandry, boatbuilding, and in the manufacture of tapa cloth. The 175 social organisation of the country was a simplified feudalism mixed 421 with elements of an earlier patriarchalism. A central government 631 exercised authority over the chiefs, who held land from the Tui Tonga 642 on feudal terms. In turn they allotted holdings to their people, exacting from them fealty, labour, produce, and war service when required. These allotments were not grouped around villages, but were more or less uniformly distributed over the chiefs' plantations as fenced farms. There were no limits to the demands a chief might make, but respect for public opinion, and the complex blood relations between him and 175 his people prevented any serious and systematic exploitation. Cook, at least, was impressed by the peaceful, prosperous and happy condition of the Tongan people.

669 But this state of affairs was not to last. Tongan chiefs became 178 involved as mercenaries in the Fijian wars, and fired by their neighbours' example, they plunged their country into half a century of civil strife. ●[165] Chiefs warred for independence or mastery. Prosperity dissolved with peace, and a quarter of the people died through violence or famine. In the general social chaos old institutions collapsed and new ones arose. The old plantation economy gave way to villages as the people were driven by the need for protection to group themselves around forti-669 fications. Christian missions became established and the old Tongan 178 religion crumpled before their wholesome conversions. At first they 797 were a new factor of division in the heated contentions of the chiefs, but in the end they helped to close the long agony of civil war, and to build modern Tonga.

669 The outstanding personality in the last stages of the civil wars was Taufahau, honoured by his people as the greatest Tongan. He pacified 643 Ha'apai and Vavau in the late thirties, revived their agriculture and 178 secured their conversion to Christianity. Appealed to for protection by the Christians of Tonga Tapu, he invaded it. This led to the pacifica-

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9



shipping difficulties. These setbacks are probably only temporary, and Tonga can look forward to developing a modest, but useful, trade in both peanuts and tapa after the War.

Apart from them the only likely addition to the export trade is fruit. Before the Great War Tonga had a profitable fruit trade with New Zealand, but in 1941, an exceptionally good year, it amounted to less than £2,000 worth of pineapples and melons. Tonga produces excellent qualities of these fruits; the only problems are transport and markets. New Zealand could well afford to extend a little generosity to Tonga in regard to markets, especially as New Zealand exports about five times as much to Tonga as it imports.

During the present century Tonga has built up considerable overseas investments out of its trade surpluses. Since Tonga has no foreign debts its investments place it in the select coterie of creditor nations, with foreign assets equivalent to four years' normal revenue. This exceptionally liquid position is necessary to a large extent since the country's money income depends so largely upon the vagaries of the copra market. There is, nevertheless, a definite anomaly in this small and economically backward nation lending nearly all its savings to wealthy countries like Australia and New Zealand. It is impossible, in view of the Director of Agriculture's very specific proposals for economic development, to believe that there are no avenues for sound investments in Tonga, especially as some of the developments suggested would lessen the need for large overseas funds by reducing the country's dependence on imports.

## Health

The standard of health is rightly considered a major test in judging the efficiency of a native administration. That the Tongans are basically healthy can be seen from their fine muscular physiques, and confirmed by their moderate death rate and their satisfactory rate of natural increase. During the five years 1934-38 their birth rate averaged 3.82 per cent, their death rate 1.41 per cent, and their rate of natural increase 2.41 per cent. These figures compare very favourably with those for Fiji, American Samoa, and for the New Zealand Maori. There are no figures available for expectation of life but the Tongans are decidedly not short-lived. There are plenty of old people, including a few centenarians, while senility is listed as causing about one-eighth of the total deaths. Tuberculosis, which accounts for about a fifth, is the

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9



next most important cause of death, followed by pneumonia and typhoid. Venereal disease is far from being a health problem. The most disturbing feature of Tonga's health is the high infant mortality rate of 8.7 per cent, even although it is a bit lower than the Maori rate. Unhygienic confinements, and a sudden transition from breast feeding to an insufficiently modified variant of the adult diet seem to be the main causes of infant deaths.

The traditional Tongan diet had developed a strong people, healthy enough in their own environment, but lacking resistance to European diseases, and more particularly to tuberculosis and epidemic diseases like measles and influenza. The current diet does not depart much from former standards, but where it does the change is not for the better. Tongans are too fond of white flour and tinned meat, which only accentuate the deficiencies of their diet in regard to protective food elements. A lack of iron lowers resistance to disease as well as predisposing the people to anaemia and yaws. Vitamins are deficient, especially A and C, so that scurvy, hookworm and pyorrhœa are far too prevalent.

Milk and fresh meat would do much to remedy these deficiencies but we have seen that livestock are both scarce and poor. Here is another and a powerful argument for the development of animal husbandry, but more than this would be needed to remedy the situation. Tongans have a marked prejudice against drinking milk, and while they have no such prejudice against meat, they invariably overcook it to make it tender enough to eat without forks and knives. There would have to be intensive education in dietetics and cooking, as well as a flourishing livestock industry, before the Tongans made proper use of meat and milk.

## Housing

Housing, unfortunately, is by no means satisfactory, despite the simplicity and cheapness of building a home in Tonga. About one-third of the houses are neat wooden cottages with glass windows and iron roofs, built at a cost of about £80 in the palmy days of high copra prices. The depressed condition of the copra market has not only brought this type of building to a standstill but has prevented most Tongans from keeping their cottages in proper repair. Even so they are markedly superior, at least from the standpoint of health, to the usual *fale*. This type of dwelling is cheap—at the most £10 to

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9



[Niua Tobutabu]

It is, nevertheless, remarkable that, even before that time, the people of Niua Tobutabu were exceedingly anxious to spread the religion which they themselves had just received. They longed to carry the glad tidings to their neighbours and friends of Niua Foöu. Above ninety miles of ocean, noted for its storms and heavy seas, rolled between them, where many a canoe had perished while attempting to make for either shore. But the restless desire grew stronger and stronger; and, finally, the necessary arrangements were made for a Missionary visit to the island in question. Two canoes were prepared, and manned by about one hundred and fifty persons. The expedition was headed by the King of Niua Tobutabu, and it was accompanied by a teacher from Vavau. The distance ought, under ordinary circumstances, to have been run in a single day; but, shortly after starting, the winds became adverse and tempestuous, and for six days the canoes were driven hither and thither. Niua Foöu had been sighted for several days, but could not be reached. The storm, meantime, increased in fury. The sea ran mountains high; and, at last, one of the canoes was overwhelmed, and foundered. It contained about one hundred persons, of whom seventy were drowned, the others being rescued by the second canoe. Among those who perished was the Vavau teacher. His body was afterwards washed on shore, and when found, his hand still grasped, in the rigour of death, a bundle of Scripture Books, from which he was not parted even in his watery grave. We may well believe that, by the precious truths he was so anxious to carry to others, he himself was strengthened in the hour of awful calamity and death.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9



islands, from 'Ata in the south to Niuafo'ou some 500 miles to the north, served as navigation "beacons" which lit up and signposted the vast ocean highway, making deliberate contact between parts of the group a not uncommon happening from very early times. This, in turn, encouraged cultural homogeneity and the emergence of a central political authority in the eastern more densely settled, low coral islands running parallel to the volcanic chain. A high degree of social stratification and strong dynastic rule uniting the islands can be traced back to the tenth century, and this continued without interruption for several centuries. Although the main groups of islands, Vava'u, Ha'apai and Tongatapu, had in practice become separate political entities by the time of European discovery, this is unlikely to have diminished the contact among them. In the disturbances which followed discovery the whole group was plunged into sporadic civil war (1799-1826) in which it is estimated that a quarter of the population died, and peace and unity were not really restored until 1852. Warfare, introduced diseases, and new political and missionary activities had effects on population numbers, distribution and settlement patterns no whit less dramatic than the pressure of the present day. The pace, direction and character of population movement may have changed, but movement and change are in themselves not new phenomena in Tonga.

## DISPERSED AND NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS

Today's typical settlement consists of an assortment of houses set on two-fifths of an acre allotments (*'api kolo*) sited close to the sea on the sheltered side, and some distance inland on the weather side, of an island. The settlement is nucleated, its boundaries marked by a graveyard, sometimes by an *ā kolo* or village fence, and always by a clear transition in land use: the residential village gives way to cultivated *'api tukuhau* or tax allotments, usually of 8¼ acres to which all male taxpayers over 16 years are theoretically entitled. Apart from the towns of Neiafu in Vava'u, Pangai-Hihifo in Ha'apai and Nuku'alofa and nearby industrial Havelu Loto in Tongatapu, there are few differences, except in size, in form or function among villages anywhere in the group. Some, with population growth, have expanded and joined to form one continuous settlement, but even then the component parts have retained their separate identity and, with this, the characteristics of the small village.

This pattern is of relatively recent origin, for the first European explorers to visit Tonga recorded no villages as such. Tasman, who first discovered the islands in 1643, observed that "every man lived in his own gardens, the allotments being separated by reed fences."[3] Cook,

[3] Cited by Kennedy (1958): 162.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9



permanent settlement. The same is true for some of the smaller Ha'apai islands: they have been farmed from nearby islands, but have never supported permanent populations. In Vava'u, the uninhabited islands are often small, steep and rocky, while the small islands off Tongatapu which were once inhabited are today the preserves of sojourning fishermen. Of more interest is the large island of 'Eua (34 square miles), the reason for the small population of which has long been an enigma. The difficult passage to Tongatapu is said by Tongans to be the main reason for its low population. While this could deter intensive settlement a more likely factor, as Maude surmises, is the scarcity of seafoods. Maude, in seeking a rationale for adjacent areas of high and low density within the group, has suggested that densities are generally determined by a *balance* of both land and sea resources. Where sea resources are limited or access to them difficult, as in parts of eastern Ha'apai and Tongatapu, in the higher parts of 'Uta Vava'u, and in 'Eua, population densities are low; conversely, where the shores and reefs are highly productive, as in the smaller western islands of Ha'apai and the western tip of Tongatapu, densities are high. This, broadly, can be assumed to have influenced traditional settlement patterns, which only today are being modified as population increases and new influences, such as urbanism, take their effect.

Estimations of the size and distribution of population within the group prior to the first census (1921), of which there are no extant records, rely on what at best can be termed informed guesses, sometimes supported by mission returns and head counts. None of the censuses until 1956 can really be considered reliable. Of these earlier censuses McArthur states that fluctuations of the populations of individual islands "are such as to arouse considerable doubts of the accuracy of either the recording or summarising of the data."[11] Table 1 is presented with this warning heeded, but in the belief that several broad conclusions can be drawn from it.

This table shows an overall pattern of population decline and recovery common in the Pacific following contact with Europeans. Tupouniua has suggested three contact phases:[12]

1. *1643–1799*: A phase in which there is no record of—"large scale destruction through diseases, and wars were totally unknown. Presumably, therefore, there was a balanced and vigorous population with steady population growth."

2. *1799–1852:* "A phase of bewilderment and social disintegration marked by a sense of insecurity. There was much rivalry for power between chiefs that . . . ended in armed conflicts . . . (while) . . . several epidemics are reported to have occurred with heavy loss of life."

[11] McArthur (1967): 81.
[12] Tupouniua (1958): 17-18.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9



McArthur has recalled in some detail evidence of loss of life during this period.[13]

Such contemporary observations as were made were not always supported by other evidence, but it can be assumed that the ravages of war and disease affected the various islands unevenly and at different times, epidemics probably having fewer widespread effects than in the larger islands of the Pacific; there was a high mortality rate, especially of infants; and, with few in the reproductive age groups, a sex imbalance, and later marriages (induced partly because of the "grim social code of the missionaries"), the population declined considerably.

## Distribution of Population by Island Groups (percentages)

| | Pre-contact[1] | 1840[2] | 1891[3] | 1921[4] | 1939[5] | 1956[6] | 1966[7] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tongatapu .... .... .... | 43.9 | 43.2 | — | — | — | 55.0 | 61.9 |
| 'Eua .... .... .... .... | 2.0 | 0.8 | — | — | — | 3.4 | 4.4 |
| Tongatapu and 'Eua .... | 45.9 | 44.0 | 36.6 | 42.6 | 46.2 | 58.4 | 66.3 |
| Ha'apai .... .... .... | 21.9 | 21.6 | 28.2 | 25.2 | 21.9 | 17.5 | 13.7 |
| Vava'u .... .... .... | 21.9 | 21.6 | 26.5 | 24.4 | 24.0 | 22.0 | 17.5 |
| Other[8] .... .... .... | 10.4 | 12.4 | 8.7 | 7.8 | 7.9 | 2.2 | 2.6 |
| Total population .... .... | 29,700 | 18,500 | 19,968 | 24,935 | 34,130 | 56,838 | 77,429 |

[1] Estimated by Maude (1965): 27.
[2] Wilkes, cited by Maude: ibid.
[3] Missionary account. Census 1956: 17.
[4] Wood (1952) Appendix 6.
[5] Census 1956: 41.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Census 1966: 36.
[8] Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu. Niuafo'ou had no population in 1956.

3. *1852–* : "A phase of adjustment and recovery" dating from 1852 when the civil war ended, but probably having little effect on growth until the 1890s. From this date the population grew "slowly but irregularly" from some 20,000 in 1891 to about 24,000 in 1918, with occasional epidemics still taking a large toll of life. The increased growth rate in recent years, due largely to improved health measures and the absence of epidemics, has produced a population at least double the most generous estimates given for the pre-contact period. Thus between 1891 and 1931, the annual rate of increase was 1.1 percent; between 1931 and 1956, 3.1 percent, and between 1956 and 1966, 3.6 percent. This increase, together with the marked movement of population to Tongatapu referred to below, suggests that Tonga has now entered a phase of dynamic growth. Tupouniua's phase of "adjustment and recovery" can be said to have ended in the 1940s.[14]

[13] McArthur (1956): 202-206; and (1967): 68-75.
[14] —— (1967): 96. An epidemic of measles in 1893 is reported to have killed a twentieth of the population, and an influenza epidemic in 1918 a tenth of the population of some islands.

241 peasant production; the value of subsistence crops produced
433 for local sale is negligible.

## Population

161
[162] The population of Tonga at the census of 1966 was 77,429, of whom 98.31% were classified as Tongan (in contrast to others such as Europeans, part-Europeans, and other Pacific Islanders (Fiefia 1968: 7). The population total reflects an annual rate of increase of 3.24% in the period since the previous census, which was held in 1956, compared with 2.94% during the preceding intercensal period, 1939-56.
[163] The difference is explained not so much by any great change
[165] in the birth rate as by a reduction in the death rate. Table 1 shows population totals over a period of about fifty years, beginning with the census of 1911, the earliest census for which there are published figures available.

Population projections made by Norma McArthur, an Australian expert in Pacific demography, indicate an estimated population of more than 100,000 by 1975 and more than double the population of 1956 by 1980 (Kingdom of Tonga Economic Survey of Tonga 1970: Appendix A.1). These projections, based on the findings of the 1956 and 1966 censuses, assume the maintenance of age-specific fertility rates and continued slowly falling mortality rates, with no significant outmigration. McArthur's projections appear to be slightly on the high side, for her estimate was that the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 40 ]

membership and may extend beyond the boundaries of the village. No local-level entity has the authority to co-ordinate the activities of these groups, to convene a village council of any sort, or to organize any other village-wide activity. In summary, the village neither functions as a political group nor is there any other group whose membership co-incides with all the inhabitants of the village. For these reasons, it is doubtful whether the Tongan village is to be regarded as a local group. Even for the isolated village-islands of Ha'apai, the only village-wide activity reported in response to my enquiries was that in some villages there is an occasional joint fish-catching expedition.[4]

In Motulahi, the closest approximation to village-wide action during the period of my fieldwork was the observance of a period of mourning when there was a death in the village.[5] For a few days after each death, no movies were shown and there was a stillness throughout the village. Usually, during the day, one hears the rhythmic note of wood striking wood as women pound bark into tapa-cloth, but this is put aside for the few days that the mourning is observed.

4 The Beagleholes give a description of joint fishing operations (1941, 36-37).

5 There were five deaths in the village during the period of my fieldwork: an old man, a boy, and three infants.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 0U9 Tonga 0U9



hard-board, cabinet-making, ship's gear and housing), as well as developments in private industries such as cigarette and tobacco processing, handicrafts, tailoring, boat-building, bread-making, and in government service industries, communications, electricity and water supplies and mechanical engineering. Until 1956, Tonga maintained a favourable overseas trade balance without incurring a national debt. Since 1965, moneys have been borrowed from Britain for development plans. But these developments are not sufficient to employ the increasing numbers of young men migrating to Nuku'alofa seeking work. For example, in 1956, 2.41% of the Tongan male population over fifteen years was engaged in "part-manufacturing and processing"; by 1966 this percentage had rised to 2.78% of the adult Tongan males, an increase of some 192 persons, but Tongan females employed in this category decreased over the same period by some 77 persons, that is, in the decade following 1956 the total number of Tongans employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries rose by only 115 to 597 persons. The "services" branch of the economy absorbed an increase of 568 Tongans, "transport and communications" 65, whereas Tongans employed in "commerce" dropped from 786 to 353, a loss of 214 workers. The number of non-agricultural labourers rose during this period from 192 to 786—a gain of 594 workers. Comparable figures for non-Tongan residents in Tonga in 1956 and 1966, show decreases in the number of persons employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries (a decrease of 83 persons), "services" (down 63 persons), "transport and communications" (down 24 persons) and "commerce" (down 103 persons). These figures conform with the Tonga Government policy of gradually replacing non-Tongan workers with Tongans.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Rapid increases in the Tongan component of the population are occurring: about 38% in ten years; this is producing a very youthful population in which over half of the population is under sixteen years of age. Population expansion is due not to a rising birth rate (which is fairly constant at 3.24%) but to a rapidly decreasing death rate (in 1966 the death rate reached an all time low of 0.29%).

Pressures on land are beginning to be felt but are not yet acute because it is comparatively easy for any Tongan to obtain access to land for subsistence purposes. Pressure on the *'api* system as it now stands is very great with possibly well over half of the men eligible for land without land or at least without security of tenure. Possibilities for intensification of land use have scarcely been sought; diversification of crops and scientific methods are, with the exception of the Coconut Replanting Scheme, as yet confined to research stations; large tracts of land belonging to the nobility remain officially unallotted; several high islands are unsettled; larger allotments could be subdivided with the introduction of intensive methods. Pressure on housing is not yet acute except in Nuku'alofa, but the Tongan administration seems to have adopted a European norm of one "family unit" to one household in spite of the traditional custom of

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai



159 with another woman. The first dream is patently a wish-fulfilment dream with an undercurrent of anxiety that becomes obvious in Kafa's second dream. [59] [84] The longer she remains without a child, the less secure she can feel in her husband's affections.

*Case 4.*—Heu, a woman of 30, long married but still without children, dreams that we are leaving Pangai and give her a baby girl as a farewell gift. She weeps over our departure but is glad she at last has a baby. She goes to get food for the baby, but, when she returns a moment later, the baby is gone. In her annoyance she beats her father's father, who lives in her house, accusing him of losing the baby. Then she awakes crying. This dream again is obviously motivated by the desire of a childless woman for children. Her paternal grandfather is very old and needs much attention and nursing. Making him responsible for the loss of a cherished gift enables the dreamer to vent on the old man some of the resentment she occasionally feels for him, [154] but as quickly suppresses, during waking hours. A feeling of guilt over this causes her to awake in tears and feeling, as she added, that she "had done something very bad."

154 Anxiety dreams also seem to be common among these villagers. Many of these dreams seem to relate to anxieties over religious matters. These I shall consider later. Others appear to have a number of different motivations of which the following are examples.

159 *Case 5.*—Dream of Tui, married man of about 27. In his dream Tui saw a family picnic where he and his wife and baby, together with his mother-in-law and Sigaleti (his *fa'e tangata*, mother's brother), were present. After the picnic was finished, he sent his wife and mother-in-law inland to collect cocoanuts. He then mounted his horse and Sigaleti with his baby mounted another. They went along the beach and made the horses swim out to sea. It became dark and he lost sight of Sigaleti, but he continued to swim his horse until he arrived at Ha'apai (the middle islands of the Tongan group, some seventy miles distant from Pangai). There he saw Sigaleti and the baby on the beach. They rode down a village road until they came to the house where a white man lived with his wife. The baby began to cry with hunger. Tui lifted the baby from the horse and asked the white people for water. They had none, but they offered European food, which Tui fed to his baby with a spoon. At first the baby refused this new food, but later it ate eagerly. Then some relatives came by. One of them, another brother of his mother, walked toward him carrying a little girl. As he watched, his relative and the little girl fell into a deep pit. He rushed toward them because suddenly the little girl looked just like his own baby. He could not see them. He woke feeling depressed and sad.

159 It is possible to interpret this dream, I think, if I mention the fact that it 177 was dreamed two days after Tui, a very intelligent man, had been discussing [165] [85] with us European methods of feeding and bringing up children. There is a heavy infantile mortality in Tonga and we had been propagandizing among the brighter Tongans for the exercise of more care in infant feeding (orange juice and cow's milk, for example, instead of half-cooked pork and taro and deadly teething powders). Many of our friends were quite receptive to this idea though they felt it would require much education and effort to put into practice. Tui was also extremely attached to his infant daughter. Doubtless a feeling of anxiety over his inability to do what Europeans with their great prestige thought best for his child gained expression in this dream. He symbolically dismisses his wife and mother-in-law, representative of current Tongan methods of infant care, and finds the desired foods for his child, only

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9



learn the language, and worrying about the safety of their diminishing trade goods.

It was soon apparent that the Tongan chiefs were only interested in the missionaries' trade goods and not their teachings. The early good relationship was due mainly to the missionaries' ability to satisfy the chiefs' demands for European goods. When the chiefs, at the instigation of three beachcombers, Ambler, Morgan and Connelly, demanded the expulsion of the missionaries from Tonga, Mulikiha'amea, the then Tu'i Ha'atakalaua replied:

> If the men of the sky, discovered by any attempts of violence, or secret whisperings, that they meant to take our land, and kill us, we ought all to strike hands, and root them out from among us; but they have brought great riches, they have given them to us freely, we reap the good fruits of their living among us, their articles are of great use to us, they behave themselves well; and what could we wish for more? (Orange 1840:117)

However, as their supplies began to decrease, and the missionaries became less generous with their gifts, thefts occurred. One of the missionaries, Vason, was attacked one night and had his pistol stolen.

Added to the missionaries' problem were the hostile reactions of the beachcombers to their presence in Tonga. After the missionaries refused their unreasonable demands for trade goods, the three beachcombers told the Tongans that they themselves were men of high rank in England, but the missionaries were only commoners, and that in their prayer meetings they were praying to their gods to kill off the Tongan chiefs. Unfortunately for the missionaries, four leading chiefs died within three months of their arrival (Wilson 1799:257), and the Tongans took this as proof of the truth of the beachcombers' allegations. During the civil war in 1799, three of the missionaries were killed,[2] and the rest had to

[2] Vason explained these murders as the result of one of the Hihifo men's vengeance upon the missionaries from whom he had earlier requested some presents, but had been refused. Seeing the missionaries, he decided to revenge himself and was supported by his friends. Another possible explanation for the attack is that the missionaries were murdered because they were staying with the chief of Ha'ateiho, who with his people had joined Mulikiha'amea and 'Ulukālala, and was regarded as an enemy.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9



they were capable of intensive labour to supply their needs. To the missionaries, however, all idleness was a breeding ground for sin and crime, and they determined to put an end to it. A reflection of this sentiment may be seen in Section 3 which exhorts the chiefs to show love to the people under them but to require them to be industrious and perform their duties to the government and to the chiefs. It also states that the chief should apportion land to the people, sufficient to enable them to procure the necessities of life and support a family. And in order to safeguard the gardens, provision was made to that effect in Section 5 which prohibited anyone to allow his pigs to run loose and damage other people's gardens.

Sale of rum and other spirits to the Tongans was a cause of constant worry to the missionaries. One of the later missionaries wrote to the General Secretary of the mission on the subject. 'What will be said when a Tonga man drinks 3 bottles of strong spirit in one day and laughs at it and says he did not take enough to make himself drunk, and yet this is the case. Will not the curse of the Holy one be upon those Europeans who thus bring the cup of death to this (sic) . . . islanders' (Baker to Eggleston, 18 Dec. 1861, Baker 1860-79). Some years later, when one of King George's sons died, the missionaries did not hesitate to attribute his death to excessive drinking. The prohibition of the sale of hard liquor by the new laws and its being punishable by 'a fine to the King of Twenty Five Dollars'[2] and a liability 'to have the spirits taken from him', was obviously a reflection of the missionaries' sentiment.

The missionaries' attitude to heathen customs and traditions (especially those which had any religious connection) was one of uncompromising intolerance. They identified Christianity with 'civilisation' and the latter with the habits and customs of an English town or village, and anything contrary to them, such as Tongan customs and traditions, was uncivilised or unchristian, and therefore ought to be destroyed. Bishop Blanc (1934:38) asserts that 'It seemed to be the aim and object of the former [Wesleyan missionaries] to instill into the minds of the people the idea that all pleasures were sinful. To this end they prohibited,

[2] This was a Spanish dollar and it was worth four shillings sterling.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9



206 Wireless stations have been established at Nuku'alofa, Lifuka (Ha'abai), Vava'u, Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu; only the first station has communication with other countries. There is also a telephone service at Nuku'alofa.

494 491 The advent of motor traffic has made the improvement of roads necessary, and these have been built with the only available stone, coral limestone.

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## VITAL STATISTICS, EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

161 The estimated population, full-blooded Tongans only, on 31st December, 1931, was 29,157. Tonga is one of the comparatively few Pacific Island groups where the population is steadily increasing. There is no justification for imagining that the population of Tonga has ever reached 30,000, but rather the indications are that, even in the most prosperous times before the coming of Europeans, it did not exceed 25,000. The present figures may therefore be taken as the highest level which the Tongan population has reached, and there is no fear that the country cannot support a population continuing to increase at the present rate for several decades.

162 175 161 Reference is sometimes made to Cook's statement that 10,000 people were present at the festival held in his honour at Togatabu, and 3,000 at Lifuka. Especially bearing in mind the visitors who would come from other islands for such a unique event, these figures certainly do not justify a belief in a greater population than the present. The land seemed 361 175 then to be better occupied as the people were spread out over their gardens, there being no villages until the Civil War period.

161 [165] Wilkes received an estimate from the missionaries in 1840, and this may be compared with the Government statistics in this century, noting the effects of the pneumonic influenza epidemic in 1918–19 and the way in which the loss of 1,000 lives then has since been more than redeemed (these figures are for full-blooded Tongans only):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1840 | 18,500 | (excluding the two Niuas) |
| 1900 | 20,019 | |
| 1911 | 21,712 | |
| 1917 | 24,245 | |
| 1918 | 23,842 | |
| 1919 | 22,689 | |
| 1920 | 23,128 | |
| 1924 | 25,109 | |
| 1927 | 26,597 | |
| 1929 | 27,660 | |
| 1930 | 28,431 | |
| 1931 | 29,157 | |

161 162 The Police Census of 27th April, 1931, gives a total of 28,839, comprising 27,700 Tongans (this involving a discrepancy with the estimate of the Registrar of Births and Deaths), 482 Europeans, 265 half-castes, 336 other Pacific Islanders, 56 foreigners, mostly Asiatics.

563 Racial inter-marriage is not so common at the present time; nevertheless, a considerable proportion of those officially classed as "full-

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9



blooded Tongans" have some admixture of foreign blood (mostly European), and there is a danger that the number of these will continue to increase. 563

The smallness of the country and the land-laws do not attract Asiatics, and those who have entered the country in recent years are mostly Japanese storekeepers and Indian tailors, saddlers and house-servants. 563 167

BIRTH-RATE. The birth-rate for 1931 was particularly high, 40.9 per 1,000 of the population. The average for the past ten years is 36.95. This may be compared with the average in New Zealand 19.01, Australia 22.19, and Fiji (1927 only) 32.53 per 1,000. 163 000

The illegitimate births, averaged over the past ten years, were 17.32 per cent. of the total number of births. Illegitimacy in Victoria, for example, represents 4.80 per cent. 163 848 000

DEATH-RATE. Unfortunately, the death-rate is also high, 17.46 per 1,000 of the population in the period 1922-1931 but only 15.40 for the last year. This compares favourably with Fiji (1927 only) 22.98, Japan 21.2 and Italy 16.5 per 1,000, but it far exceeds the rate in some other countries, such as England and Wales 12.2, Australia 9.4 and New Zealand 8.5 per 1,000. 165 000

It is most regrettable that, though native treatment is forbidden by law, it is practised everywhere, even within easy access of Government Medical Officers. Of the 432 deaths registered in 1931, 205 were certified by medical officers, 228 had not been attended; nevertheless, this is better than in 1923, when 178 deaths were certified and 309 not attended. The medical officers are gradually winning the confidence of the people, and the return of qualified Native Medical Practitioners from the Central Medical School, Suva, in 1933 should increase the acceptability of European treatment among the Tongan people. 757 [656] [165] 759 757 178

Some causes of death in recent years were :—Tuberculosis 23.5% of the certified deaths, typhoid fever 11.1%, pneumonia 10.7%, influenza 1.3%. Malaria is unknown, yaws and filariasis are common but not usually fatal, and leprosy is not common; cases of leprosy are sent to Makogai, Fiji, where there are thirteen Tongan lepers at present. 165 164

Tuberculosis is undoubtedly the scourge of the group. The Medical Department does its utmost especially with incipient cases, but it is recognized that its efforts would be aided if the Tongans would seek treatment and carry it out. Deaths from tuberculosis in Tonga average annually 33 per 10,000 of the population*, as against 17.5 in France, 9.7 in England and Wales, and 5 per 10,000 in New Zealand. 164 165

* (This assumes that the proportion of tuberculosis as the cause of death in the cases of those uncertified was the same as for those certified.)

INFANT MORTALITY. The average number of deaths of infants under 12 months for the last ten-year period stands at the alarming figure of 119.09 per 1,000 births, but for the last five-year period the rate was only 67.7 and 67 in 1931. This may be compared with England and Wales 71, Australia 53, and New Zealand 38 per 1,000 births. 000

MARRIAGES. The marriage rate is 10.40 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 7.92 in Australia. The rate of divorces to marriages in the past ten years has been 1 in 9.05. 162 [581] [586]

000 for self-identity.

## Population Characteristics

101 Very little is known about the characteristics of the Tongan population before European contact except that the people were Polynesian culturally and physically.

### Population size

175 Cook estimated at least 10,000 to 12,000 people
162 attended a dance in his honor on Tongatapu in 1777. Peron in 1796 estimated around 25,000 people were seen in canoes
175 and along beaches of Tongatapu (Maude, 1965:26-27). Later
161 estimates of Tonga's pre-European contact population have
[162 been as high as 50,000 (Matoto, 1971:2). Maude (1965:26-27) estimates that the population in 1799, at the onset of the period of civil disorder, was at least 30,000 for the entire archipelago and 13,000 for Tongatapu.

161 There is no evidence of any population loss until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when a decline began
161 which lasted almost 100 years. The major causes of this
165 decline seem to have been the civil wars and numerous epi-
669 demics. The missionary John Williams (1837:308) wrote that until a few year before 1830 "the whole island was in a high state of cultivation, until frequent wars, combined with successive attacks of dysentery and other diseases, had so fearfully reduced the populations." Other accounts by Vason

161 and Mariner attest to the fact that "many people, men, women
165 and children, were killed in the actual fighting, while
669 others apparently died from famines caused by the destruction of food crops and the lack of new planting" (Maude,
161 1965:45). Further evidence of this decline is a population
162 figure of 8,000 for Tongatapu and 18,500 for the entire archipelago (based on estimates made by missionaries on Tongatapu), which was reported by Wilkes in 1840 (Maude 1965: 26-27).

165 After the cessation of civil war in 1852, European diseases such as measles, whooping cough, influenza, and dysentery (to which the Tongans had little natural immunity) became the main cause of death. Heavy loss of life resulted from epidemics, which were common occurrences throughout the South Pacific during the nineteenth century. "The sickness (occurring sometime between 1812 and 1845) that was brought by a (Tongan) vessel from Fiji . . . . raged so badly in the three groups, Tonga, Ha'apai, and Vava'u (that) it is said that they were not able to carry the dead away and bury them" (Gifford, 1929:209). As a result of the measles epidemic which occurred in Nuku'alofa in 1893, "one twentieth of the population was carried off, and the remainder was so demoralized that it was threatened with famine" (Thompson,
161 1894:286). From an estimated population of 30,000 the Tongan population probably declined during the nineteenth century to below 20,000. The figure of 18,500 reported in

161 1840 by Wilkes may have been an excessively conservative estimate (Maude, 1965:46), and the figure of 19,186 obtained from the first official census in 1891 (Matoto, 1971:9) is probably a better indication of the Tongan population at its lowest point. From studies of population trends in the South Pacific in general, Keesing (1942:47) estimated that "the lowest points in Polynesian populations were reached variously from 1890 to 1910."

161 The trend of a declining population was reversed around
165 the turn of the century, especially after World War I (Table 6), although about 1600 Tongans died in the worldwide influ-
161 enza epidemic of 1918 (Gifford, 1929:330). Since then, Tongan population has grown rapidly and, at present, Tonga has one of the highest population growth rates in the world, approximately three per cent per annum (Dommen, 1971:6).

161 This rapid growth can be attributed to the development
743 of a medical service, the construction of hospitals, an
312 improvement of public water supplies, an increase in natural
178 immunity to foreign diseases on the part of Tongans, and post-World War II economic prosperity.

161 From 1921 until the last official census in 1966, the
166 population of the Kingdom increased by about 225 percent and the population of Tongatapu increased by 390 percent,
168 partly owing to immigration from the outer islands. The
842 Tongan government hopes that the present "family planning" campaign will help to reduce this growth rate.

[1800-



Tongatapu. If Tahiti had proved an unsuitable field and if conditions in Tongatapu were more favourable, he was instructed to take all the missionaries to Tongatapu "as a refuge for the whole of our brethren".(3) Instead of being able to fulfil these instructions he found that the Mission in Tongatapu had ended in complete failure.

Vason, who had accompanied Finau 'Ulukalala to Vava'u after a lull in the fighting in Tongatapu, was able to get a passage on the same ship, *Royal Admiral*, when it called at Vava'u in August 1801. In England he sincerely repented of his apostasy and his participation in the savage conflicts in Tongatapu. Thenceforth he lived a quiet Christian life and was Governor of Nottingham Gaol for some years. During this time he wrote his *Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Existence at Tongatapu*, which narrated the experiences of the L.M.S. missionaries.

Conditions in Tonga deteriorated still further in the next few years, with repeated attacks on Tongatapu and the destruction of plantations by Finau 'Uluakalala's marauding parties. Most of the people in that island lived in forts for safety, and practically no planting was done for fear of being ambushed in the gardens. The consequence was famine, more terrible than any known before these disastrous years. Famine raged in Ha'apai also. The cannibalism practised out of bravado during the fighting was extended even to the eating of the flesh of relatives, because of the desperate plight of the famine-stricken people. It has been estimated that more than one-fourth of the population of Tonga died in the period 1799-1820 as victims of war and famine. The early Wesleyan missionaries noted as an evidence of the depopulation of Tongatapu that females outnumbered males approximately two to one.

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**Footnotes**

(1) Newbury, C. M., edition of John Davies, *History of the Tahitian Mission, 1799-1830*, Vol. I, p. xxix.
(2) Lovett, R., *History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, Vol. I, p.64.
(3) McKern, W. C., *Archaeology of Tonga*, p.122.
(4) Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.122.
(5) Hawels, Dr. Thomas, *Papers; Royal Admiral Journal*, A.1963. M.L.S.

/see 12: Vason, this file -- Analyst/

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1841-1850]



made to the sonorous singing of the *Te Deum* at the marriage of Taufa'ahau's daughter, Salote, to the Tu'i Pelehake in 1839. The District Meeting in 1841, influenced by John Waterhouse and his experience of the Book of Common Prayer in English Wesleyan services, decided that John Wesley's Abridgement of Morning Prayer from the Book of Common Prayer should be translated and should be used in all the large chapels where missionaries could guide the worship. John Thomas was anything but a high churchman or ritualist but he and the other missionaries loyally accepted the ruling.[29] The Hymn-book of 1849 had 189 hymns, the Morning Prayer service, and also the catechism. In the 1853 edition the Litany and Collects occupied 40 pages and the catechism 72 pages.

Lawry, in his 1850 visit, commented upon the worship in Zion, Nuku'alofa:

> "The serious devotional tone of this host of worshippers would bear a comparison with any congregation I ever saw in England. . . . The beautiful harmony with which they went through the responses in the Morning Service was very affecting, in tones like the sound of many waters. . . . Both the singing and the praying were performed by the entire congregation." [30]

A visiting Anglican physician, Dr. W. H. Harvey, of Trinity College, Dublin, made particular reference to the Tongan Wesleyans' use

> "of our noble Liturgy which we always use in the chapel service".[31]

It was this doctor who was so impressed with the need for more support for medical work that he instituted a Protestant Medical Aid Society. At a later date (1878), Sir Arthur Gordon, when High Commissioner, expressed surprise that "the Anglican Prayer Book" had been translated into Tongan and was regularly used by the Wesleyans.[32]

It was Dr. Moulton who retranslated the Liturgy into stately Tongan to replace what the early missionaries had given with their more restricted knowledge of the language. Both versions still stand in the book used by the Free Wesleyan Church although Moulton's is the one commonly used in worship today.

Tongans eagerly adopted European music and forms of worship. They also introduced colourful patterns of their own, such as the watchnight service on new year's eve, when the lights were brought to the church by all families. In the early days these were nut-shells filled with oil.[33] At these services several preachers dwelt solemnly upon the passing of the old year; after about two hours the spirit of gravity was changed to a joyous welcome to the new year.

Another part of the missionaries' work was the introduction of treatment for the people's diseases. Tongans had their own treatment which, generally speaking, they have preferred, even to recent times. They were sometimes impressed, however, by the effect of the medicine brought by the missionaries and they were willing to use it if their own herbs failed. A limitation on the missionaries' efforts was the scanty knowledge they possessed. The situation was exceptional with qualified medical practitioners, R. B. Lyth, most of whose ministry was in Fiji, and George Miller. Shirley Baker, who served from 1860 onwards, had acquired a proficiency in prescribing.

An unusual case of a layman's description of what must have been poliomyelitis is found in a letter from Mrs. Matthew Wilson at Hihifo to her parents in England in November 1847. It was remarkable that one who had no medical knowledge whatever should describe symptoms so accurately. Poliomyelitis had

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never been recognized as a separate entity by the medical profession at that time. The missionary's wife wrote:

> "After Matthew returned from the islands a very severe affliction broke out. It is supposed to have been brought in a ship to Vava'u, from thence to Nuku'alofa in a canoe, and several of the canoe's crew first died in it. Then it broke out among the people at Nuku'alofa. We heard of the fearful devastation which it made among the people at that place, but nothing occurred here for some time. At length, it found its way to Hihifo, by people going backwards and forwards to Nuku'alofa to attend funerals, &c.
>
> "Some were taken in the way, returned, and died in a few days. It is quite a new complaint in these islands. The first week the complaint broke out here six died in it. We were constantly kept on our feet from the morning to night, giving out medicine, bleeding persons who were seized, &c. It generally attacks the young, strong and healthy. Bleeding is considered indispensably necessary in this affliction. As many as fifteen have been bled in a day at this place. The people are seized in different ways, some at the back of the neck, others at the foot or feet, hand or arms, side, back &c., yet all one complaint. Then comes on a numbness in the limbs, some have much pain, others only a little. It often happens that one or both the arms, one or both the legs, sometimes one arm and one leg, or both arms and both legs, are numb, cold and dead, destitute of all use and feeling. It is almost always preceded by cold shivering, and that followed by a hot fever; very great constipation of the bowels is another very prominent feature in this complaint.
>
> "Many have died suddenly in it, tho' but a few hours before they seemed in full strength, only a little numbness in the limbs. My husband went to see a young woman who did not appear near death then, only both her arms were numb and dead. We went again to her and she was just dying as we entered the house, tho' that were only about three hours after my husband had been talking with her." (34)

In the mid-19th Century the Church was the centre of the community's life. Tonga had become a nation at prayer, in all Wesleyan districts. The Sabbath was the great day of the week, with crowded congregations, enthusiastic choirs, and fervent preaching. Sunday began with prayer meetings at daylight, followed by 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. services, also Sunday School and, generally, evening gatherings of a more informal nature.

Sabbath observance had been readily accepted not only as a welcome cessation from labour but as the external evidence of the change from a non-Christian society. The people believed that the sternest divine sanctions, like their ancient *tapus*, guarded the Sabbath ordinance. This was clear from the early days as when, in 1831, a hurricane wrecked the Spanish brig, *Candide*, in Tongatapu, with some loss of life; the people believed that the tragedy was due to God's wrath upon a crew that had obtained wood and water on the Sabbath preceding the wreck.(35) Tonga has followed its policy of Sabbatarianism to the present day, and this has been embodied in its laws and the Constitution of 1875.

It was almost inevitable that religion tended to consist in compliance with Church rules, as far as many converts were concerned. Attendance at Church in Wesleyan districts was the universal custom; indeed it was specifically enjoined in the Code of Vava'u, 1839, though evidently not enforced. John Thomas declared that even sleeping during a church service was sinful; he believed it was due to tiredness after Saturday night dancing.

> "I told them of the evil of such things and that it was a sin to sleep in the worship of God." (36)

Not only the prohibition of all work and games on Sunday but the rigid control of personal behaviour became marked features of Tongan Wesleyanism. This discipline became irksome to many as time went on. Thomas Adams, who came in 1847, deplored the unwillingness of many converts to accept "the restraints

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[1947-1971]

and disposed him to introduce new measures to expand Tonga's productivity. His brother, John Ngu Tu'ipelehake, also studied in Australia, specializing in agriculture. The princes' double wedding in 1947 was an occasion of great rejoicing among the people.

In 1953 the Queen visited Britain by invitation, to attend the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. There she won the affection of all who saw her, so that even to the present day the names "Tonga" and "Queen Salote" are linked in their minds. When she arrived, she soon attracted attention as "the tallest Queen of the smallest kingdom in the world". Her unaffected, yet regal, manner and her geniality made her the darling of the British public before the memorable day when, returning from Westminster Abbey, the Queen would not allow the hood of her carriage to be raised as protection against a continuous downpour. To the tumultous cheering of the hundreds of thousands who lined the route, she rode, waving enthusiastically in response to their cheers, when not wiping the rain from her forehead with her handkerchief. A leading article in a London newspaper said, "Few visitors from overseas can ever have endeared themselves so widely and speedily to the British people as the majestic lady who braved the drenching of the Coronation procession in her open carriage".

It was with great rejoicing that the Tongan people heard that Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh wished to include Tonga in their itinerary later in the year. All parts of Tonga vied with each other in preparing lavish hospitality. The Queen vacated her palace for the royal visitors. She felt obliged in courtesy to drive round the palace all night, and 400 men and women were on guard the whole time with flaming torches, observing an old custom. The royal party attended the Sunday morning service at the Centenary Church, with over 2,000 people inside and many hundreds outside. The President, the Rev. A. E. McKay, with the Secretary of Conference, Sau Faupula, conducted the service. The choir sang the "Sanctus" from Bach's B Minor Mass and did so with the verve for which Tongan church choirs have become renowned. In her message to the royal party after its departure, Queen Salote said, "I do not doubt that this historic occasion has renewed the store of faith and joy in the hearts of my people as rain refreshes a garden".

Tonga has been one of the most serious examples of population explosion. Efforts to increase production and to find additional exports have hardly coped with the needs of the rapidly expanding population. There has been a marked decline in the death rate and especially in infant mortality, as a result of the Government's improved medical and public health services. The birth rate, however, is still high — 29 per 1,000 in 1971. There was an increase of 35% in the population in the ten years, 1956-66. The population (always below 25,000 in the first quarter of the century) had swollen to 77,429 in the census of 1966. It is now estimated at 95,000 (1975), and to become 118,000 in 1980 — and this in a small archipelago with a total area of only 269 square miles where the inhabitants have to grow their food as well as cash-crops. The density of population is over 500 per square mile in Tongatapu, and much more in the small islands of Ha'apai where many men have no land. The family planning programme initiated by the Government has had little effect, largely through conservatism. In 1966, the average Tongan mother in the 35-45 age-group had slightly more than six children. The crowding into Nuku'alofa, which has grown from 3,000 fifty years ago to more than 25,000, has had unfortunate social consequences. Congestion,

/83 cont./

851 followed by a small celebration.

527 The Tongans pay little attention to birthdays. Only the com-
852 pleted first year of a child is generally celebrated. The father's contribution to the festival is a well-filled earth oven (with pig[s], yams, taro, sweet potatoes, kape, manioc pudding, etc.), but the mother's relatives also generally contribute food (for example, a roast pig, a /84/ rich-cream cake, European-style), and there is an exchange of mat and tapa gifts. The celebration usually starts with a hymn and a prayer (this among the Wesleyans is often spoken by the pastor ), then follows the feast at which 20 or 30 relatives and friends take part and at which the mother with her one-year-old child is given the place of honor. After the meal, the group breaks up.

527 This festival marking the completion of the first year of life,
852 which is celebrated by commoners as well as chiefs, is, at least as
177 far as the date is concerned, a European-influenced arrangement, for
[805] in ancient Tonga an accurate calendar was unknown and birthdays could not be determined. The prayer and the presence of a pastor also show European influence.

165 Infant mortality is average. For example, of the 25 children
163 born on the small island of Nomuka in the course of a year, four died. Today, in general, the number of births by far surpasses the deaths in the total population. (238)

[113] 238. In 1950, for example, 1798 births and 501 deaths were registered in Tonga (Report of the Department of Justice for the Year 1950 /cited in English., Nuku'alofa 1951. pp. 3/4).

[161] Since Tongans in the past very probably never numbered more than 25,000 persons, (239)

239. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 4; W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 4.

/84 cont./

165 and since this figure has doubled in the past three decades, (240)

240. For example, for 1919. 22,689 Tonga are reported (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 6) and for 1949, 45,690 (Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Year 1949 / cited in English/. London 1950. p. 5).

we must assume that this birth surplus did not exist in the past. Undoubtedly, the improved health service is one of the reasons for this change. However, if we consider the still very inadequate medical help and the indifference and negligence of the population of most of the small islands of the Archipelago, we must conclude that the population increase has other reasons as well. Yet, since the Tonga in the past had no sort of birth control and it is not possible to explain the present excess of births /over deaths/ by a "psychic strengthening" of these natives, since there is no indication that they were formerly "psychically weaker," it is very difficult to interpret this change.

844 In general, we may say about the birth /process/ in Tonga that it 178 still takes place largely in the ancient Tongan manner, although 177 growing European influences must be reported. These may also be seen in infant care (diet and clothing).

/85/

## Death

761 The odd, yet to the Tongans already quite natural, coupling 177 of ancient Tongan traditions with Christian customs and European 178 material attributes, which we observed in wedding and birth, becomes especially clear to us in /a consideration of/ death and burial.

763 For an old man who is near death the Tongans sometimes build, 343 as they did in olden times for dying chiefs, (241)

241. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 199.

a special small house where he is laid in preparation for death. This not only gives the dying person special dignity, but it is also

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fluctuations of the population of individual islands "are such as to arouse considerable doubts of the accuracy of either the recording or summarizing of the data" (McArthur 1968, p. 81).

It is generally assumed that an estimated pre-European population of 29,700 represents a reasonable figure. This estimate, by Maude (1965), takes into account the entire Tongan group and will suffice as a starting point from which a discussion of modern Tongan population can begin. Table 1 represents a summation of available population data, beginning with the pre-European period. Although it is recognized that the historical statistics prior to the 1956 census are primarily estimations, several broad conclusions can be drawn from this table. An overall pattern of population decline and recovery, common to most of the Pacific island groups, is evident throughout Tongan history. In addition, three contact phases, following Tasman's initial landing on Tongatupa, are suggested and supported within the historical population data of Table 1 (Tupouniua 1957, p. 17).

Phase one, from 1643 to 1799, represents the period of Tongan history for which there are no records "of any large scale destruction through disease, and internal wars were totally unknown" (Tupouniua 1957, p. 17). This period began with Tasman's visit and continued until Cook's last contact with the islands. Due to the absence of wars and disease, a balanced population with a steady, if somewhat slow, growth rate can be assumed.

Phase two represents the civil war period, from 1800 to 1852, a period of "bewilderment and social disintegration marked by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 26]

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a sense of insecurity" (Tupouniua 1957, p. 18). During this phase, internal armed conflict often resulted in large scale loss of life, destruction of crops, and subsequent famine conditions. It is estimated that at least one-fourth of the Tongan population perished during the first half of this period, victims of either war or famine (Wood 1932, p. 33). In addition, diseases contracted from Europeans, whose contacts with the islands were increasing in frequency, produced several severe epidemics. In combination, the war and disease resulted in a large and widespread reduction of population.

Phase three represents a period of "adjustment and recovery," dating from 1852 to the end of the century. Recovery, in terms of population numbers, did not immediately occur. Secondary effects of the civil war period lasted until approximately 1890 to 1895, or until large numbers of individuals born after 1852 entered the reproductive ages.

Following the 1890s, the population evidenced a numerical recovery, though periodic outbreaks of disease resulted in an irregular pattern of increase. For example, an epidemic of measles in 1893 reportedly killed a "twentieth of the population," while an influenza epidemic in 1918 claimed as much as a tenth of the population, on some islands (McArthur 1968, p. 96). Nonetheless, the number of individuals increased from approximately 20,000 in 1891, to 24,000 in 1918. Following the 1918 epidemic, the Tongan population exhibited a period of accelerating growth. Between 1891 and 1931, the annual rate of increase was 1.1 percent. This rate

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161 TABLE 2.--Crude Birth and Death Rates.

163

165

| Year | Registered Births | Registered Deaths | Natural Increase | Per Thousand | | Yearly Growth |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Births | Deaths | |
| 1966 | 2,870 | 228 | 2,672 | 38 | 3 | 3.46 |
| 1967 | 2,652 | 278 | 2,374 | 34 | 4 | 3.06 |
| 1968 | 2,648 | 209 | 2,439 | 33 | 3 | 3.05 |
| 1969 | 2,844 | 236 | 2,608 | 34 | 3 | 3.16 |
| 1970 | 2,652 | 227 | 2,425 | 31 | 3 | 2.85 |
| 1971 | 2,505 | 285 | 2,220 | 29 | 3 | 2.54 |
| 1972 | | | 2,486 | | | 2.74 |
| 1973 | | | 2,395 | | | 2.58 |

SOURCES: Population Census Reports, 1956 and 1966.
Report of the Department of Justice, 1966-1971 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer).
Kingdom of Tonga: Statistical Abstract 1972 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1972), p. 4.

162 TABLE 3.--Population by Broad Age Groups.

161

| Age Groups | 1956 Census | | 1966 Census | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | % | Total | % |
| Under 5 | 10,031 | 17.7 | 14,326 | 18.5 |
| 05 - 09 | 8,090 | 14.2 | 11,546 | 14.9 |
| 10 - 14 | 6,843 | 12.0 | 9,873 | 12.7 |
| 15 - 19 | 6,045 | 10.6 | 7,825 | 10.1 |
| 20 - 24 | 4,968 | 8.8 | 6,219 | 8.0 |
| 25 - 29 | 4,416 | 7.8 | 5,441 | 7.0 |
| 30 - 34 | 3,537 | 6.2 | 4,542 | 5.9 |
| 35 - 39 | 2,896 | 5.1 | 4,154 | 5.4 |
| 40 - 44 | 2,256 | 4.0 | 3,321 | 4.3 |
| 45 - 49 | 1,782 | 3.1 | 2,711 | 3.5 |
| 50 - 54 | 1,606 | 2.8 | 2,064 | 2.7 |
| 55 - 59 | 1,279 | 2.3 | 1,484 | 1.9 |
| Over 60 | 3,089 | 5.4 | 3,923 | 5.1 |
| Total | 56,838 | 100.0 | 77,429 | 100.0 |

SOURCE: Kingdom of Tonga, Statistical Abstract 1972 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1972), p. 4.

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842 Tongan traditions are contrary to the concept of reduced
168 family size. Prior to 1950, high infant mortality motivated pro-
[164] duction of large numbers of offspring. In addition, a large family
[165] represented security for elderly parents. However, with the intro-
161 duction of public health facilities, such as water purification,
[165] infant mortality declined, but without a corresponding decline in
[163] the birth rate. Thus, family size has increased slightly. The
[162] average number of persons per household in 1956 was 6.6, while in
1966 this figure was 6.7.

168 Several of the active religions within the Tongan Kingdom
795 are a second major obstacle to effective family planning. These
842 church groups (Mormon, Free Church of Tonga and Catholic) are out-
spoken in their opposition to family planning and birth control.
Estimates of lay agreement to this opposition vary. The Office of
Family Planning in Tonga claims that 18 percent of the Catholic
population participates in the program. However, interviews con-
ducted in a cross sampling of the Tongan population indicated a
much lower percentage of Catholic supporters. Interviews with Mormon
and Free Church members indicated consistent rejection of the family
planning project. Despite the fact that the majority of the Tongan
population is of Methodist affiliation, the influence of smaller
church groups should not be underestimated. The Mormon church mis-
sion, for example, has experienced a rapid expansion in all areas
of the Kingdom. The potential for a religious-based block to
governmental birth control programs is not insignificant (Clark
1974).

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Malnutrition was further reported to be the fifth leading cause of death among young in-patients at Vaiola hospital on Tongatapu in 1971 (Jansen 1973, p. 3).

It is probable that borderline malnutrition, or at least undernourishment, has existed in the South Pacific to some degree since the influenza epidemic of 1918. Rapid population growth has been prevalent and unabated since that time. The situation in such urban environments as Nuku'alofa is becoming serious with regard to nutrition and general well-being. The high cost of living and underemployment, aggravated by the overflow of unskilled or semi-skilled laborers, has resulted in a subsequent increase in the number of malnourished children. Foods such as yam, fresh fish and fruits which traditionally were eaten by all Tongans are now, for many families in Nuku'alofa, a luxury beyond their economic means. Money secured through cash cropping, relatives or overseas remittances often is insufficient to support a large urban family and migrating relatives. Jansen (1973) concluded that under prevailing conditions,

> two points must be kept in mind: a. in spite of socio-economic progress, technology, better education, etc., many children in the Pacific Islands actually die because they lack proper food; b. the survivors may be permanently stunted in physical, and possibly mental, development (Jansen 1973, p. 43).

In the present investigation, the incidence of protein malnutrition or undernourishment was of prime interest. Throughout the sample survey, children of preschool age groupings (here defined as 2 years 0 months to 5 years 0 months) were examined. Data presented